5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
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As the members of a gens were all considered as relatives, however remote, there was a law prohibiting a man from marrying within his gens. Originally this law was strictly enforced, but like many of the ancient customs it is no longer observed. Lately, within the last forty or fifty years, it has become not uncommon for a man and his family, or even two or three families, on account of some quarrel or some personal dislike of the chief of their own gens, to leave it and join another band. Thus the gentes often received outsiders, who were not related by blood to the gens; and such people or their descendants could marry within the gens. Ancestry became no longer necessary to membership.

As a rule, before a young man could marry, he was required to have made some successful expeditions to war against the enemy, thereby proving himself a brave man, and at the same time acquiring a number of horses and other property, which would enable him to buy the woman of his choice, and afterwards to support her.

Marriages usually took place at the instance of the parents, though often those of the young man were prompted by him. Sometimes the father of the girl, if he desired to have a particular man for a son-in-law, would propose to the father of the latter for the young man as a husband for his daughter.

The marriage in the old days was arranged after this wise: The chief of one of the bands may have a marriageable daughter, and he may know of a young man, the son of a chief of another band, who is a brave warrior, of good character, sober-minded, steadfast, and trustworthy, who he thinks will make a good husband for his daughter and a good son-in-law. After he has made up his mind about this, he is very likely to call in a few of his close relations, the principal men among them, and state to them his conclusions, so as to get their opinions about it. If nothing is said to change his mind, he sends to the father of the boy a mes-

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

6: Artists and Craftsmen [ca. 1850]

IN THE MIDDLE of the nineteenth century, Blackfoot men and women evidenced their handicraft skills in the making and decorating of a variety of useful articles. Some of their crafts differed little from those of their stone-age ancestors. Others made effective use of the sharp metal tools, cloth, glass beads, and other items received from the fur traders. Yet, even when they employed European-made materials, they produced handiwork such as was never known to Europe, reflecting the ingenuity and good taste of its Indian makers.

The trade in buffalo robes encouraged greater production in a craft that was old long before white men appeared in the Blackfoot country—that of skin dressing. The women who dressed buffalo robes for market played an even more important role in the fur trade than did their husbands who killed the buffalo. Theirs was harder work than buffalo hunting. Twenty-five to thirty robes a winter were about as many as an industrious woman could prepare. A good buffalo hunter could keep several wives supplied with all the hides they could process. Women who excelled at skin dressing were proud of both the quantity and the quality of their output. Older women bragged of the number of robes they had dressed for market and the number of lodge covers they had made. Girls were taught that skill in dressing skins was a desirable attribute in the eyes of a prospective husband.

Dressing a buffalo hide involved a series of processes that can

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Piegan chief.[129] Although this evidence is scanty it certainly is suggestive of an increase in the size of herds. What is most significant for our purposes is that by 1833, the time when the large markets for tanned robes in the States first developed, there already existed an accumulation of horses that made possible the ensuing expansion of polygyny. This expansion in turn perpetuated and intensified the social gradations that already existed, for men with large herds were the ones who could purchase many wives, and in the exchange thereby transform idle capital (surplus horses) into productive capital (women).

Following the growth of polygyny and the increasing importance of the bride price in horses we find that the age at which marriages occurred was also altered. There was a tendency for girls to marry at a younger age and for men to marry at a later age. In 1787 Thompson reported that girls usually married between sixteen and eighteen, and men at twenty-two or somewhat later.[130] In 1885, Rev. Wilson's informants told him that girls normally married at twelve.[131] Our own informants, speaking of the period of the latter half of the nineteenth century, placed the age of marriage for girls between ten and sixteen and that of men at thirty-five, rarely at less. It is during this period that we get the first cases of child marriage. Fathers now wished to marry off their daughters as early as possible in order to realize the bride price. On the other hand, men were not chosen as sons-in-law until they had accumulated sufficient property and had acquired a good reputation as a warrior or hunter.

The increase in the number of wives brought greater friction within the household. The effect of the sororate in eliminating hostilities diminished and at the same time the contrasts between the status of upper and lower wives were intensified. The native term for a wife lower than third or fourth means slave wife, which accurately describes their status. Lower wives performed the most difficult tasks, rarely put up Sun Dances, were most often beaten and most often suspected of adultery.

Social Organization

The fur trade stimulated inter-tribal intercourse. Tribes which had little contact with each other met at trading posts with the result of much borrowing and spreading of culture elements. A case in point is the borrowing of age grade societies by the Blackfoot from some of the village tribes to the south.

The historical material offers little in the way of positive evidence for the

[129] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[130] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

[131] Wilson, *Report of the Fifty-Seventh Meeting of the British Assoc. for the Adv. of Science*, Sept. 1885, p. 192.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NP6 Blackfoot NP6
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large herds might still prefer a poor yet capable son-in-law. More often, however, he tried to cement his position by marrying his daughter to the son of another rich man. Such marriages took place, for the most part, between children of ten or twelve years,[52] *minípoka* or "favorites." To enhance the status of the head of the family, these children were honored with special gifts and exempted from normal duties. Even as adults, they did not participate in the ordinary way in tribal life. The men continued to validate their position by generous giving, but the gifts they offered were more often derived from inheritance and the exploitation of brothers and sons-in-law than from their own labors. The girls grew up without learning to cook, and long after marriage expected their mothers to prepare their meals and carry them to their tipis.

Parental desire to channel wealth permanently was, however, frequently frustrated. The early training of these young and favored children made for even greater marital instability than was customary for the tribe as a whole. It was usually the rich or the handsome (and the two were often identical) who were credited with many marriages. The poor, less sought after, stuck it out longer, if not through thick and thin.

The following is a description of the marriage of two favorites. Thirty-five years later, the informant spoke of this short interlude with deepest pain. Like a hurt child he reviewed the hardships of these months of living together.

Yellow Wolf, my father, said to me, "Now don't fool around with anybody for you are a *minípoka*, and you should have a proper marriage." A marriage was arranged for me and Wakes at Night, the daughter of White Buffalo Robe, Chief of the Lone-Fighters Band. She was a *minípoka* too, and only fourteen years old. She brought blankets and about fifteen pair of moccasins, enough for all the members of my family. She brought a pair for me. She also brought two broken and six unbroken horses. Yellow Wolf and his relatives put up twenty-five horses, their best ones. When this gift was sent to White Buffalo Robe, my father-in-law, Wakes at Night rode in front on a fine saddle horse. She wore a weasel-tail suit and a headdress. A wagon was loaded with blankets and goods. They were all taken over to White Buffalo Robe. White Buffalo Rib, a brother of Wakes at Night, received some of the horses. . . .

Wakes at Night was the second child, but like her older brother, she was also a *minípoka*. Our marriage was not a happy one. She did not treat me very well. We fought constantly about where we should live. White Buffalo Robe wanted me to live at his place, because his daughter was so young and got homesick. My father did not want to let me go—and besides I wanted to stay home with him. Whenever White Buffalo Robe thought I had done something wrong, he took his daughter home. This happened several times. I would send my father for her and get her back. When I took my wife to visit her parents, her father would keep us there for a longer time

[52] A. E. Hudson, *Kozak Social Structure*, p. 35, notes a similar tendency of the rich to marry early.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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than we had intended to stay, and my father, knowing what would happen when we went away, would make it hard for us to go.

It is not surprising that a marriage of this kind, with the children maneuvering to remain in their respective privileged homes, and the fathers maneuvering for even the limited *minipoka* help, did not last long. This one broke up in a year and a half.

When the favorites remarried, pomp, ceremony and property exchange were usually omitted, as they were in second marriages throughout the tribe. Free from the pressure of parents, a man might select a wife from any stratum of society. Passion rather than property dictated the new choice.

The growing concentration of horse wealth made an unstable marriage situation even more precarious. Young men had great difficulty in obtaining a wife at all, for they could neither pay for nor support one. Such difficulty was not unknown in the older Blood society despite the excess of women over men. The established hunters and warriors (i.e., men who had horses or their equivalent in ceremonial prestige) had two, three, or more wives.[83] Fathers urged their young and attractive daughters, then as now, upon older and successful men. But while the time of marriage was late (many men were twenty-five and the sons of the poor frequently over thirty)[84] a young man still had some chance to rise on his own initiative and win recognition. In the early eighties, and for twenty years to follow, he suffered from all the old disadvantages of the polygamous society, and the new order offered him few satisfactory ways of exhibiting his worth. In 1882, it was reported, "there was very little crime. More trouble was caused by the stealing of women from each other. Women sold for horses. Only a few are rich enough to buy women now. Most of the young men who have no horses cannot get married, and therefore steal from someone rich in women."[85]

Nevertheless, a few ways remained for making a living. A man might work out for whites or become a scout or farmer in the government service, or if he preferred to follow Indian custom, he could seek a vision and become a shaman, although remunerative practice did not immediately follow. Or he might, and here the rewards were quicker, improve his position by marrying a rich women, often some ten or fifteen years his senior. A sufficiently ambitious man might combine all of them. John Many Rattles did.[86] Born in 1862, he reached adulthood when it was most difficult for young men to rise. He hired out to whites, became a government scout at thirty-three,

[83] Henry and Thompson, *Journals*, Vol. 2, p. 526, "Many of them have six or seven wives."

[84] Lewis, *The Effect of White Contact upon Blackfoot Culture*, p. 40. Cf. also Bradley, *Characteristics*, p. 272.

[85] 1883, Vol. 4, No. 5, p. 176.

[86] Harry D. Biele, Field Notes, 1939.

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[1920-1940]

425 Easy access to good land is no longer possible, and the best of it has been allotted. A young and ambitious Blood must either turn again to wages, as indeed the sons of rich farmers have done, or if he is not content with the marginal land still available, he must wheedle an idle farm from a more [426] fortunate if less industrious tribesman. He may get it as a loan or on a rental [427] basis, but he is never certain how long he will be permitted to crop it. The more successful he is, the more eager the renter will be to reclaim his land [578] and try his hand at it again. Violent conflict and familial hostility frequently result.

556 CHANGING PRESTIGE FACTOR.—Distinctions between rich and poor are 184 still drawn, and frequently these obscure expected behavior. The rich daughter-in-law is served; the poor one does the work. The poor son-in-law [606] is disparaged. Even the impoverished herder or unsuccessful farmer, in [581] memory of a better day, will storm when his daughter marries a poor orphan. A poor sister-in-law said of her rich one, "She always makes me [607] work for her at her house, but she never does anything when she visits me." A poor young wife who may make a simple and justified request will be sarcastically told, "Go home, you *minipoka*." The real "favorite" may exploit his childhood privilege in the face of little criticism even after he has reached adulthood.

593 The beautiful and discontented wife of a poor man may brazenly flaunt 937 her affair with her rich lover, but the unhappy wife of a rich man will find some more dignified way of showing her dissatisfaction. When her husband 577 philanders, she may refuse to cook his food; she may roll up in her own 556 blanket and deny him his conjugal rights; she may leave him, or she may 184 entertain his mistress, ply her with fine gifts, and receive the approbation of society "because she shows no jealousy."

[575] A chief or member of the Horn Society is also roundly applauded when he shows no jealousy; but the poor husband who sits by and silently witnesses the drunken love-making of his wife and her rich lover receives no [593] respect for his restraint. A spoiled and wealthy woman may forbid her [584] "favorite" the house; she may take his horses and disinherit him if she disapproves of his marriage. A woman less economically secure, even if she is known as "manly-hearted," may uphold the authority of her "favorite" at all cost, as the one sure means of maintaining family prestige.

557 The advantages of a good marriage are quickly recognized. A wealthy Pointed Plume will say, "All women chase a rich man." A poor William Curtis will say, "A man should marry his daughter to someone who can take care of her."

178 But the changing status of various groups within Blood society is strik- 581 ingly revealed by an analysis of marriage trends. Thirty years ago marriages still followed the earlier pattern. The wealthy cattle men continued

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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to select mates from their own circles. The poor married each other; half-breeds married half-breeds[150] or orphaned members of the tribe. Sometimes, it is true, an ambitious but poor young man succeeded in marrying a wealthy but considerably older woman; sometimes a father of a poor but beautiful daughter succeeded in marrying her off to a wealthy husband; sometimes a rich herder preferred a poor son-in-law whose labor he could exploit. But the lines remained clearly drawn. Rarely were the "newly rich" able to crash the "old society."

Today another trend is visible. Numerous marriages have taken place between the children of the "newly rich" and the children of those cattle-breeding families who went into farming around 1910. These are the families that have cash incomes, good houses, good clothes, good automobiles. It is now the impoverished horse owner who is the undesirable. His children are marrying the poor and the orphaned.[151]

SUMMARY.—After a decade of prosperity, an accident of climate created a social upheaval among the Blood. The cold winters of 1919 and 1920 practically annihilated the cattle and reduced the erstwhile successful herder to penury, at least in terms of a money economy. But he still possessed sufficient horse wealth to validate his prestige as he had always done. His waning security, however, led to a compulsive buying of privilege, more particularly in the Horn Society, whose members' power to sorcerize may well have been an added inducement during this time of deprivation.[152]

The farmers suffered also, but only temporarily. With their profits from wheat they bought up the few remaining cattle, and made no effort to compete for recognition with their few horses. They continued to improve their land and buildings, to furnish their houses comfortably, to dress their wives and children in style. The drought and depression of the early thirties, however, forced many of them on the relief rolls of the agency. Discouraged they have ceased to cultivate their crops. Today, the better land is being concentrated in the hands of the few.

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[150] Most of the half-breeds on the Blood Reserve are the children of Indian women and white traders (see story of Revenge Walker, p. 11). They are known by the name of their father (Creighton, Davis, Gladstone, Beebe, etc.).

[151] No formal statistics on marriages were collected, but the present statement of trends seems justified by remarks of informants, direct observation, and an examination of marriages recorded by the agency census.

[152] Clyde Kluckhohn, *Navajo Witchcraft*. Discussing a rise in the last two years "in the number of persons whom gossip accuses as witches," he writes: "While this increase . . . may also be connected with the relative economic prosperity of this interval, I am inclined to regard both the witchcraft and the ceremonial phenomena as alternative responses directed toward the preservation of a badly disturbed equilibrium." Cf. also A. I. Hallowell, *Psychological Characteristics of the Northeastern Indians*, MSS.

A. [See Categories 578 and 621--Analyst]

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577 156 562 [556] Some few women on the reserve are called "manly-hearted."[183] They come, with one exception, from families rich in horses. The exception, significantly, is a half-breed whose antecedents had neither property nor prestige. However, her aggressive personality and her present success—she is now the wife of a chief and in good circumstances—make her inclusion in this group completely acceptable to the Blood.[184]

[556] In many respects the behavior of these women resembles the behavior of men of wealth, but the essential pattern of their lives always remains safely within the framework set for women as a sex. A manly-hearted woman never wears men's clothing; she marries, and frequently she marries many times; she has children. But early in childhood she will exhibit her independence and aggressiveness. She will strike other children who are older and bigger; she will even strike an older brother who is a privileged "favorite." She will visit around and stay out over-night though other girls remain obediently at home. She may make advances in affairs of the heart; she may refuse to marry the man of her father's choice; she will marry in her own time, and she will not hesitate to beat off an irate husband. She [581] is usually an excellent worker. This as well as her passionate response to love make her a desirable mate despite her wilfulness and domineering ways.

It is on the strength of her total personality that a woman is called manly-hearted, and the category covers a considerable range of behavior. Some may become vowers of the Sun Lodge, and their sexual aggressiveness may be tempered by the "chaste" life required of them.[185] Others may believe that their status depends upon building up a "favorite," even if he dominate them; still others may feel sufficiently secure in their own wealth to dominate their "favorite."[186] Trends of behavior observable among women of wealth are intensified in the manly-hearted woman. While frequently disparaged, they make her, paradoxically enough, even more desirable.

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[184] [183] Lewis has reported that there are fourteen manly-hearted women on the North Piegan Reserve (*Manly-Hearted Women among the North Piegan*, p. 176). The Blood, whose population is more than double that of the North Piegan, cited only nine (Harry D. Biele, Field Notes). It is possible that due to the spread of wealth, those personality traits that distinguish the manly-hearted woman have become so general in certain groups of Blood, that the special designation seems of lesser significance. For an example in the past, see Red Crow's sister, Revenge Walker, p. 11 ff. A

[184] [184] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 177. Here Lewis claims that such an upstart would never be classified among the manly-hearted women by the Piegan.

[796] [185] I know of no manly-hearted woman vowing the Sun Lodge in bravado, fully aware that her former life made her ineligible to do so. For a contrary statement, see Lewis (*op. cit.*, p. 184). However, there are instances among the Blood where a woman was forced against her will to make the vow so that her husband might be sure of her virtue. Such sins do not go unpunished. (See story p. 51.) B

[186] See pp. 65 ff. C

A. [See Categories 578 and 621--Analyst]

B. [See Category 796--Analyst] C. [See Category 159--Analyst]

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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on the sacred walk."[185] Returning, she gives the sinister root which she has received from her nocturnal partner to her uneasy husband.

The interval of waiting is among the greatest trials of the Blood. The anxious husband must show no jealousy during the "walk"; he must joke with his fellow members and suffer their teasing without taking offense. So great is this strain that some are unable to bring themselves to the test; others hire a substitute wife, although the added cost may be considerable.

The Blood are not overly engrossed with sorcery, perhaps because black magic may act as a boomerang, perhaps because hostility is quickly and overtly expressed, perhaps because their way of life brought numerous and tangible rewards. But some standard of values is suggested by the fact that the greatest power to hurt others is acquired by submitting to what they believe entails the greatest personal suffering—the possession of one's wife by another. Its institutionalization in the Horn Society in no way relaxes the sexual tensions among the people at large; it merely succeeds in heightening them for the few who want to purchase the most feared power available to the Blood.

Writing on the relations between Blackfoot men and women, Wissler observes, "We found no traces of the conventional modes of registering conquests as among the young men of the Dakota and Village Indians."[184] Victims of a monotonous poverty, these more easterly tribesmen readily transferred a symbol from their glamorous past to the one remaining area of competition, sex. The counting of coups over amorous successes may well have seemed unnecessary, and even ridiculous, to the more exuberant Blood whose daily routines gave them many other ego satisfactions.

MARITAL INSTABILITY.—Psychopathic possessiveness and aggressive behavior, however, offer a poor foundation for a satisfactory or enduring marriage. In 1909, a worried agent, after discussing the difficulties arising from drink, observed, "The morality question is at present a more serious one on this reservation, the transgressors very principally young married people who, after quarrelling separate and insist upon availing themselves of the old tribal right to take other partners."[185] The instability of early marriage can be easily documented. A Dancing Bird, beautiful if undiscriminating, consoled ten "husbands"; a wilful Mary Red Bear boasted

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combed their hair, and gave them a gift. . .no sexual license is permitted during this occasion."

The attitudes and values of the two tribes are nicely revealed in the following incident from a tale: A Blackfoot visiting a Cree makes him a present of a horse. In return, the Cree offers him his wife.

[183] Cf. Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, p. 413 ff. Also Harry D. Biele, Field Notes.

[184] Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 9.

[185] 1909, Vol. 43, No. 15, p. 169.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6 Blood

at least two unions before she settled down with the youngest son of a wealthy chief. 593

But even a long interlude of adaptation may end in abandonment. A Bob Double Man still believes in loving and leaving; a Pointed Plume, after an alliance of twenty-two years, again sows his wild oats; a Henry Dennis deserts his wife and seven young children for a younger and handsomer woman; and a Mrs. John White Bull changes partners at will, returning unconcernedly to a cast-off husband when a new one proves unsatisfactory. 837 581

Many, however, stick it through; but within the frame of a monogamous marriage, they are able to reëstablish the polygamous past with considerable success. Not infrequently a woman, whose husband is safely behind prison bars for drunkenness or cattle stealing or assault, will spend the time of waiting with an "interested" and hospitable relative. Her position in his household is not unlike that of the "second wife" in an earlier day. She may, now as then, give needed domestic aid, but more often she remains a demanding and quarrelsome interloper fighting the "legal" wife for the husband's favor. 593 937 595 178 [578]

When a more stable relationship is sought without disturbing the formal bonds of marriage, a mistress's husband may also be invited into the home as farm worker or cattle hand. He watches his arrogant employer delight his wife with gifts and make love to her in drunken orgies. To him, dignified silence at these spectacles establishes his bravery; to them, he remains a weakling to be ignored and laughed at. 593 937 [577]

Most often, however, separation, either permanent or temporary, is the ready answer to incompatibility. From the standpoint of familial stability, the latter may well be the more devastating. One detailed description of alternating breaks and reunions follows: 586

In the four months that Pointed Plume was living with his "new wife" Laura and her baby daughter, they separated as many times. Twenty years his junior, small, compact, but looking his contemporary, she industriously prepared his meals, jerked the meat, made pemmican, preserved the fruits, and did the family washing. A neighbor said, "Pointed Plume's new wife is a good worker. She likes to please the old man. She does everything for him." But another commented, "They are not getting on very well. Laura's first marriage with Big Shield broke up because she was so jealous; her marriage with Tom Bacon broke up for the same reason. Now after three months she is accusing White Plume of running with other women. She even suspects him when he is paid to drive a man and his wife to town in his car." The neighbor spoke from intimate knowledge. After quarreling with her husband, Laura had been set down along the roadside. On reaching Cardston she rushed to the parked car, and shouted at her astonished neighbor who was sitting there alone, "Pointed Plume and your wife are sweet- 593 [586] [577] [586] [152] 593 586 152 578

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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of her ill-mannered ways she was accused of joking obscenely with a paternal cross-cousin who was nominally her grandmother. In another case a man was reciting a general formula for handling wives who had gone home from their husbands: "Then the husband would send his sister to the home of the wife's brothers to solicit in his behalf." If it be recalled that she along with her brother is elevated by siblings of the wife's family, then we can understand her power as mediator. In another instance a man married two women who were cross-cousins to each other; he was severely criticized for marrying wives who were "two generations apart."

We were struck by the differing ethos of the woman's world as compared with the man's. Confined in their activity largely to the camp, women were more complacent, resigned, physically less active, and less apt to engage in physical battle to settle their differences. This, we believe, was in part the result of the greater importance of kinship in fixing their social relations than was the case with men. First it was more difficult for women to alter their status in the social group than for men. War and wealth did not offer opportunities; rather the woman's position was dependent in this male-dominated society upon the status of her husband. The wife of a chief (*ni'na.ki*) might display her personal finery to the discredit of other women, but it was only as the wife of a chief that such conduct was possible. Otherwise she was a deviant who was treated accordingly. To be sure, women might raise their status in the social hierarchy through religious and ceremonial participation, but unlike coups in battle, the woman who vowed six Sun Dances was accorded very little, if any, more respect than one who vowed one or two Sun Dances. Though women took pride in good handwork, there was no widespread or standardized recognition of these accomplishments that we have uncovered, unlike the Cheyenne women who were admitted to a society in recognition for outstanding handwork.[4] Hence the kinship system appears to be more effective than was the case with men in channeling social relationships between women, for there were fewer competing factors to disrupt its efficient working.

Marriage: A Union between Female and Male Worlds

The male world was outside the tipi in the tending of horses, hunting and the counting of coups. There the world was ordered through seniority. Within the tipi it was a woman's world with objects made by the woman, with children to be tended, and with other women categorized in terms of generation who assisted her with her duties. Marriage was the institution that united these two worlds, but it presented a break with the life of the past for both partners.

[4] Grinnell, G. B. *The Cheyenne Indians*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1924, Vol. 1, p. 159 ff.

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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For the male, we observe a break between his relatively irresponsible life as a bachelor and his responsible position as head of a household. Furthermore, to many marriage tacitly meant giving up the warpath. Thus, war activities would be limited to economically unproductive forays which beat off enemy raids on the camp. To marry implied that one had sufficient horses and in a sense jeopardized one's future, for were these animals lost through an enemy raid, the owner was less free to go again on the warpath. The responsibility for the household was too great readily to be entrusted to another.

For the female there was also a break between the rôle of a daughter in the household of her parents and the rôle of wife in the tipi of her husband. This dichotomy was framed by the mother-in-law tabu, which necessitated her living either as wife or daughter but never both. Leaving the warm, affectionate, accepting relationship of a daughter to her mother she entered the strange tipi of her husband. Frequently this change was made at an early age to accustom her more quickly to the transition, but the change was, nevertheless, a traumatic one followed by frequent attempts to escape. Father and elder brothers were rigorous in policing the marriage contract and adopted measures to enforce it comparable to the breaking of a colt.

As a result of this negative attitude toward marriage on the part of both partners definite rewards had to be offered. A key to this is furnished by the kinship system. The male received enhanced status. By the brothers of his wife he was called *nistamo'* while he replied to them with *nistamox'kua*. The suffix *xkua*, also found in the word *nuxku'a* ("my son") implies depressing a person a generation in the sense of calling a person "child." Moreover, all children of the wife's brothers were "grandchildren" so that they honored him as "grandparent." In practice the relationship of husband to wife's brother did not always follow this pattern, for the concept of seniority dominated the kinship regulations. A brother of the wife older than her husband actually held the rein of authority, but it was a warm relationship between the two males which more nearly paralleled that of siblings. Frequently the sister and her husband camped near an older brother, where the husband helped with the horses and hunting. In turn when the husband became self-sufficient, a wife's younger brother might move to help him in maintaining his household. Thus a man increased the number of his siblings through marriage and hence his personal security.

For the woman there were also prestige rewards. By entering the tipi of her husband, she, too, received nominal enhancement of status. This was achieved by depressing a generation the husband's younger siblings, who became her "sons" and "daughters." In turn their children called her "grandmother." Though she had to pay respect to her husband's elders, the wives of these older brothers, and perhaps her husband's sisters, helped her

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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607 to learn to cook, tan hides, and make moccasins. There was no hazing of the
585 new wife; rather, if very young, she was treated like a child in the attempt to make her feel at home in this new situation.

593 In addition social dicta prescribed that women be participators in the
562 cultural rewards apart from the warpath. This was mainly the case with
[778] ceremonial life. It was always necessary for a man to have a woman partner
[575] when he obtained the medicine pipe or entered the sacred societies. In these activities it was usually a wife, though a man might seek another woman to
796 take her place. These women were not ceremonially so important as a male.
593 However, one case shows where a man refused to join the Crazy Dog society,
562 and to overcome his resistance, his comrades took his wife as a member. As
[575] under this circumstance he could not refuse his wife and maintain community respect, he paid for her membership and sat beside her in all the meetings. In the Sun Dance alone a woman overshadowed her husband, but
[571] this status assured her husband of a firm marital tie. As Sun Dance vower, she personified the cultural ideal of womanhood, the woman who above all was faithful to her husband.

562 Beyond this elevation of the status of women through the necessity for
842 women partners in receiving sacred objects and in participating in general social life, there lay a mystical concept. Through women came the greatest treasures the culture offered. This meant in the family that a man might
[603] have children, for children of both sexes were avidly desired. Older people
[597] raised their grandchildren in order to have children in the tipi. It was also the practice to adopt a child should one's own child die. This pattern of cul-
562 tural rewards went even farther. In obtaining the most sacred root in the
796 Horn and mo'toki societies, the root which was the zenith of sacred objects
778 brought to the earth by the woman who brought the Sun Dance, a woman
[575] was necessary. In an esoteric ceremonial act a woman obtained for her husband the root from a man who sold it. This was a very secret and unmention-
[432] able event that separated socially the seller from the buyer until the two
[571] "made friends" at some time when neither owned the root any longer. Thus through marriage the two worlds of the male and the female were united to
581 obtain the rewards of the culture.
582

Balancing of the Lines

601 The question of lineality arises in any discussion of kinship terminology
602 in its relation to the family organization. We believe that there is only slight, if any, emphasis on the paternal line.

601 Critical in fixing lineality is the relative weight of husband versus wife's
607 brother. In the foregoing paragraphs a relative balance of the two authorities has been indicated. Ideally, it was a friendly, warm, though respectful relationship, implying a type of cooperation like that between brothers,

a man reside in his wife's father's camp or his own father's camp, but he might follow a sibling who lived in the camp of this sibling's in-laws or this sibling's brother-in-law's camp which might be located elsewhere. We have cases of poor men "without any relatives" moving into the camp of a chief and being welcomed despite the absence of blood ties. There was considerable freedom of movement on this basis, and the man usually camped where he was furnished with the greatest economic advantages. 591

Consideration on the basis of terminology alone suggests a patrilineal weighting. A male derived no prestige from the line of females beginning with his sister who called him "older brother." We might regard these females as being sent to another line of males where they would honor all whom they called "grandparent." In keeping with this emphasis was the early marriage of daughters who thus went to live with their husbands before strong personal attachments were formed with their brothers. Substantiating this was the remoteness of a man's children to his sister. Also, as we have seen, honor was accorded the son-in-law by the daughter's parents rather than the daughter. Weighing against such a lineal emphasis, was the important relationship of son-in-law to son and to the parents themselves which firmly united the group. Furthermore, the phrasing of wedlock was that a wife "brought the husband children." In these words Blackfoot underscored cooperation between husband and wife rather than the alternative possibility that the rôle of a wife was solely bearing children for him. The children were his only for the duration of the marriage contract, since they normally followed the mother to her new residence after separation. Terminologically the cooperation of man and woman to produce children may be also seen in the fact that a man calls the children of his wife's sister, even though married to another man, "son" and "daughter." 601 602 601 581 593 [562] [586] [601]

Perhaps a stronger argument for patrilineality was the dramatization by a son of his relationship to his father. In addition to the important position of the father in designating kinsmen, this showed itself in four principal ways. First, we have observed among our informants an eagerness to relate the tales of their father's prowess, a tendency to glorify him as a man great in battle, wealth and generosity. Where one informant's father had disgraced himself by presuming to be a chief when he had no claim to this authority, the informant seized upon his paternal grandfather as a proper alternative to glorify. Another indication of this dramatization is the frequent statement of an informant that he was a favored child. Most of our informants recognized the disadvantage of being favored children since the pampering accorded such a child usually misfitted him for a self-sufficient life after the father's death when many of the favored children went bankrupt. Nevertheless, informants persisted in stating that they were favored children. The desirability of being a favored child was, first, that one's own 593 554 601 [558] 593 858 554

593 status was thereby elevated because of having received some sacred objects,
858 and, second, it was an oblique way of stating that one's father was wealthy,
554 hence a hard worker and a man of accomplishment. Further evidence for
paternal glorification may be seen in the almost monomanic anxiety over
597 being an adopted child. Any rebuff that a son might be given was frequently
593 the stimulus for morbid preoccupation over the reality of the blood relation-
[152] ship to the person he called father. In adopting a child, parents took elabor-
ate precautions to show even greater affection toward the adopted child
than toward their own in order to prevent this child from suspecting his
adoption. When a child or grown person discovered this fact, it was a trau-
593 matic experience from which recovery was slow and difficult. Further indi-
626 cation of the importance of the paternal rôle in the life of a male was the
universal comment made when a man deviated from acceptable behavior.
[867] People said, "He did not listen to his father's words." This had direct refer-
ence to the series of moral lectures that every father was supposed to make
593 to his children. Another aspect was the concept of inheritance of personality
827 characteristics from the father. This was particularly true of males who were
supposed to inherit their father's courage in battle, memory for ritual,
generosity, or eccentricities. Females were thought to inherit more from
their mothers. On one occasion the question arose in a discussion with an
informant as to why certain individuals did not listen to the moral lectures
of their fathers. Our informant on this occasion stated that it was because
they had inherited this particular deafness to the paternal sermons from
their fathers who in turn had also not heeded the dicta of their fathers.

584 Certain prerogatives accorded the woman's family served to heighten the
importance of the mother's family. Foremost among these was the privilege
of the woman's parents to assume the initiative in soliciting marriage for
● [581] their daughter. Indeed, it was frequent that a wealthy man picked a son-in-
[858] law who was poor but energetic with the aim of receiving his assistance in
the camp. We have statements to the effect that on this account daughters
585 were somewhat preferred to sons in that through them the circle of one's
[591] followers and helpers could be more readily enlarged. Of conceivable sym-
bolic importance was the fact that the woman's parents usually provided the
586 first tipi with its furnishings for the new son-in-law, for this suggests that in
the remote past the son-in-law was actually living matrilocally. Further-
more, a woman usually returned to the camp of her parents or brothers with
her unmarried children after the dissolution of a marriage. The husband
736 thereby lost whatever influence he may have had over the children. In the
[888] case of a woman whose husband died when she was too old for ready remar-
riage, her sons, by then economically self-sufficient, were expected to care
for her, and they would accord her the authority due an elderly person in
making important decisions.

593 621 571 Many Mules obtained five head and drove them into the corral of Big Black Collar. On seeing them, Big Black Collar was furious and ordered Many Mules to get rid of them. Instead Many Mules moved with his mother to the camp of his mother's sister's husband who was a cattle owner.

The result of this situation for a young man was that he moved from one relative's camp to the next until he found the authority which was least arduous. However, until he became economically independent, he could not [581] maintain a wife and tipi. This may be considered another reward for marriage: when one becomes supreme authority in one's own tipi.

937 562 [577] [578] Marriage in itself was an unstable affair due to other factors. Here there exists a conflict between the male dogma that any woman was a legitimate sex object and the ideal embodied in the Sun Dance vower, that a bride be not only a virgin but as a wife remain perpetually faithful to her husband. Unmarried men were always a threat to the stability of a marriage, for few men would tolerate clandestine affairs on the part of their wives. The relative rarity of Sun Dance vowers as compared with those women who were ineligible to vow the Sun Dance because of past misconduct bespeaks the [684] frequency of these illicit affairs. As women were credited with the initiative in love, the punishment was usually directed toward them rather than the [621] co-respondent, and this punishment was often severe in the extreme. Patterns of male suspiciousness and jealousy were rampant: Wives were beaten [152] merely after seeing another man beat his wife; suspicious men even moved [578] from the protection of a camp to the open prairie where they were easy prey [593] to enemy raiding parties, rather than risk their wives in a camp filled with bachelors; young men suspected of complicity were attacked without warn-
593 571 937 684 ing by irate husbands. The reason for this conduct may be partly understood on the basis of affronted authority. As unfaithfulness on the part of a wife threatened the very existence of the domain over which a man had supreme authority and might reduce him to acknowledging authority in another tipi group as an ignominious visitor who could not care for himself, marriage stability was a very personal and vested interest for a male. To protect the household the punishment was extreme, varying from mutilation in order to make her less attractive, to society rape fests that she might be given her fill of sexual experience with other men, to merely shooting her. All this was carried out in a fit of rage under the name of disillusioned love: "I loved her so much, and then she was unfaithful to me." The restorative aspects of these measures must be stressed, for since the wife was usually not sent away, the punishment was intended to make the household more [682] secure. Should the extreme have occurred, murder was always followed by [765] the customary mourning rites that approximated those following natural death. Only when the integrity of the household could be preserved in any

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586 Broken unions among single household heads are not necessarily indicators of overall marital stability. Among the rural adults who had been or were married at the time I contacted them, I found that for every divorce or permanent separation there are 4.4 marriages
586 (common law, civil, church marriages). This ratio of permanent separa-
191 tions or divorces reflects a reasonably stable marital pattern. By comparison with other populations, Lynd and his associates (Lynd 1956) found that in 1924 at "Middletown" there were 42 divorces per 100 marriages; there was more instability in Lynd's sample than the rural Blackfeet. At Middletown the divorce rate was 42 per cent while the rate among the rural Blackfeet is 22 per cent, a difference of 20 per cent. The divorce rate, to provide additional comparative data, in Los Angeles County, California, is about 50 per cent at present. I
581 realize these comparisons are not as meaningful as they should be. An additional factor is that marriage among the Blackfeet is generally regarded as a more or less permanent arrangement only if cohabitation lasts more than six months. More casual unions are rather frequent and are not included in the figures given here, nor are they regarded as marriages by participants so far as I was able to determine.

Conclusions

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511 Browning households, based on my findings, are only slightly more prosperous than the rural Heart Butte inhabitants. Median household
592 income is about $3,700 compared with $3,550 in the Heart Butte area.
369 Earned income accounts for a greater percentage of total household income
434

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

a certain girl was by sending a very special present to the parents. Since the man was the boss of his family, it was up to him to decide. But you can be sure that most men consulted with their wives before deciding, and kind men consulted with their daughters also. This custom has just died out in recent years, since the time my own mother got married.

The special present was usually brought to the girl's parents by a friend of the young man who wanted her. If the parents accepted the gift, then the marriage was set. Sometimes this happened even though the girl didn't care at all for her suitor, or if she was already in love with someone else. In most cases, however, it didn't matter to the girls. They had been so closely watched while growing up that they didn't really have many opinions on the various eligible men. Few young men stood out by their bravery or early wealth. Parents of girls tried to get such men for their sons-in-law, since they were likely to provide well for their daughters and even for them in their old age. Parents who had several daughters hoped that their oldest one could find an ambitious husband who could afford to take the younger sisters when they became eligible. Some chiefs had over ten wives, many of whom were often sisters. I know of one woman who was only six or seven when she became the youngest wife of a head chief who had married her older sister.

Some parents tried to get their daughters married at a very early age, so that they would be virtuous to their first husbands and perhaps put up a Sun Dance someday. One of my distant grandmothers who is still living was given to a young man as a bride when she was only seven. Her parents were poor, and this young man showed a lot of promise. He had just finished school. The two spent their whole lives together, had many children, and were both successful and happy. She still laughs when she tells me how her new husband's little sister gave her toys to play with, after the marriage, and how he used

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museum-official Owner offered him $250 to lead 778
the ceremony. In refusing, the Old Man explained 177
the following to us: "Our holy Pipes are very 439
Powerful. It is very wrong to do something un- 796
holy with them. Leading such a ceremony for that
white man, and accepting his money for doing it, 432
would be very unholy for me. No one can ever [784]
buy my holy life with money." The white man
later told people that the Old Man was incompe-
tent and could not have led the ceremony any-
way. He eventually recruited another old leader,
Brown Chief Calf, to perform the ceremony.

One of the followers of our Old Ways who 778
was most upset by the sale of the Long-Time Pipe 177
was old Many Grey Horses. As a result of some 114
dreams, he and his wife paid a visit to the Pipe's
official Keeper. This official recorded the visit and
submitted it to his employers as an Ethnological
Data Record. This is how it reads in the mu-
seum's files:

A Gift to a Medicine Pipe Bundle
as a Result of a Visitation
from a Supernatural Being

On October 9, 1968, I received as visitors, in my home at Cardston, Alberta, two Blood Indians, Mr. & Mrs. Many Grey Horses, who are current owners of a Medicine Pipe Bundle.

They explained to my wife, who acted as interpreter, that their visit was a serious one and not social.

Mr. Many Grey Horses spoke first. He reprimanded my wife for not sitting with me during the recent transfer ceremony of the Long Time Medicine Pipe of which I was the recipient. He said, "When two people are married they must sit together in all holy ceremonies. This is blessing their marriage." He said in the old days, Mrs. Standing Alone, who represented my wife during this ceremony, would have been recognized as my wife. My wife explained that she does not participate in these ceremonies for fear of ridicule. Mr. Many Grey Horses said, "You must not be afraid of that. It is a holy ceremony." [796] [581]

She speaks of her early marriage: 584

Yes, I was still running amongst the girls. I was still small and naughty. My father told me one day, "You will get married. There is a boy that just came out of school. He is a gentle boy, so he will be kind to you." [156] [581]

I was very proud that I was getting married. I should have been educated first, but I obeyed my father to get married so that someone would look after me. He was getting ill then.

My mother sewed moccasins for me to get married in. When winter came, it was on Christmas, they got me my horse and they tied a travois to him. I had my bedding and I had two parfleches; one was full of moccasins and one was full of dried meat. Those that are called pillows [backrests] were loaded, too, and some blankets were put on top. I rode on one horse and there were two more horses with many blankets tied on them; they were all presents from my folks. I don't remember everything about it, because I was small. I don't know how many more horses were sent later; my husband traded off some of them for cows. 584 583 [425] [231]

I wore a buckskin dress. My leggings were beaded, and I wore a fancy blanket with a safety pin in front. My shawl was a fancy woolen blanket. We arrived at the old place where we used to get our rations. An interpreter lived there. His name is Young Scabby Bull, a black white-man [the Negro, Dave Mills]. My mother told me to stay in there for a while so that she could go and get rations. This was ration day. 584 [292] [657]

So I sat there. Then a woman came in and kissed me and said we were going. I was hoping to see my mother, but I never saw her again that day. She took me out and put me on the horse with the travois. So we started off again. The woman led the two other horses. She was on horseback, too.

We came to a house. It was the house of my deceased brother, Bull Shields. A man lived there 584 574

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

584 Many a youth, many a man of the tribe had sent friends to Eagle Plume to recount their brave deeds, enumerate their riches, and then offer many horses for his handsome daughter. But the chief was different from most fathers; to each emissary he replied that it was for the girl herself to decide whom she would marry. And of them all 581 584 she had chosen Black Elk—not for his wealth, as he had but few horses; nor for his bravery, as he had never been in a fight with the enemy. She had said "Yes" to him because of his known kindness of heart, his unremitting care for his mother and her younger children, and because she had always loved him, though silently and from afar.

722 782 And now Black Elk had been gone forty-one days. Soon now he would be returning, coming with enemy horses, enemy weapons, enemy scalps, now a real warrior, to claim her for his woman. Daily that powerful Sun priest Three Bears had ridden the round of the great camp, shaking his rattle, singing the song for the absent, naming each member of the war party and calling upon the people to pray for their safety in the enemy country and their quick return with much enemy property. How proud she was when she heard the old priest name her man-to-be—four times shout out his name and call upon the people to pray for him. How long and earnestly she prayed for him—not only then, but frequently during the day—and promised Sun rich offerings for his safe return.

722 123 At this time—it was the summer of 1879—the great camp of the tribe was pitched on Arrow Creek, a stream rising in the Belt Mountains and joining the Missouri River about a hundred miles below Fort Benton. I was there, a guest in the lodge of my friend Bear Head, and having a grand time running herds of buffalo with him and other keen horsemen of the tribe; hunting grizzly bears, deer, elk, antelope, bighorns; and of evenings sitting with the old men and listening to their tales of war—dramatic recitals of their myths and [521] legends and the wondrous power of their sky gods. And listening to the talk of Bear Head's women and their friends, I learned much of the gossip of the camp—among other things, of the approaching marriage of young Black Elk and the daughter of Eagle Plume, whose lodge was close on the left of ours in the great camp circle.

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

584 "I did not tell him that. You know, daughter, that he is my more-than-friend, my more-than-brother; that in our fight with the Assiniboines, in the Bear Paw Mountains, he saved me from them though himself badly wounded."

"What? You told him then, that man of many wives, and old, of heart so cold that he never laughs, that he could have me?"

"No, daughter, I did not give you to him; I said that I would ask you to become his woman."

"Knowing well that I will not do it. Surely you were not afraid to tell your more-than-friend that I am not for him?"

581 584 "Daughter, it is that every woman of our tribe should marry, have children. All too few are our men. They fall in battle with our many enemies; they are continually being crippled, killed in the chase. Now you, desiring revenge upon the Crows, you can do far more by raising children, brave, strong youths to fight them, than you can by going yourself against them. Daughter, as you love me, as you love your mother, I call upon you to marry Talks-with-the-Buffalo, saver of my life. It is your plain duty to have children by him, brave sons to grow up and fight our many enemies."

The girl made no reply to that. She went out and across the camp to the lodge of her dead sweetheart's mother, Mink Woman, and remained with her a long time. Bear Head and I were sitting with Eagle Plume, smoking with him, when she came home; he had been telling us of Talks-with-the-Buffalo's sudden request for her, his hope that she would go to him. Very solemn, downcast, she was as she sat down beside her mother, leaned against her and said: "Father, I have been with Mink Woman; she thinks, as you do, I should marry, have sons to grow up and avenge the death of him we loved. So is it that I will marry your more-than-friend." And with that she began to cry. Bear Head and I got up and quietly left the lodge.

595 [583] With her various belongings, the girl moved into her new home that evening, and presently we learned that she was not happy there; *Otahki*, the younger of the two sisters Talks-with-the-Buffalo had married, was very jealous of the new wife and was slyly doing all that she could to make trouble for her in her new life. Even, at times, she boldly lied about her, told their man that, when the two went

to get wood for the lodge fire, she herself did the heavy work, the other merely idling about and taking up a few dry branches now and then. To all of which Otter Woman would never make denial, and Talks-with-the-Buffalo would look at her, at each of them in turn, and grimly smile. 595

Otter Woman often came to visit her father and mother and tell them, incidentally, of fresh meanness that the jealous one had put upon her. And at last Eagle Plume, angry and hurt, said to her: "Daughter, I see that I made a mistake in urging you to marry my more-than-friend. I am disappointed in him. As he will not protect you from that lying woman it is for me to do so; go at once, and take up your belongings, and return home." [586]

"No, father, no," she replied. "You showed me my duty to our tribe. I shall remain with the man to whom you gave me, no matter how much his second wife lies about me." [581]

But as Bear Head said afterward, little did Otter Woman, or any of us, realize how mean was that jealous woman's heart.

Came from the north, from the camp of our brother tribe, the Bloods, four young men to visit friends in our camp, and one of them was Low Horn, he who was nicknamed "Handsome Man." And rightly: he was unquestionably the handsomest of all the men of the three tribes of the Blackfeet. So handsome, so graceful in all that he did, so perfect of figure and face that I shall not attempt to describe him. A bachelor and a lady killer he was, too, desired by all the maidens and doubtless by many a married woman. Some men were so jealous of him that when he staged one of his spectacular dances around the circle of the camp, they ordered their women into their lodges, there to remain until he had passed. Yes, Handsome Man was a dandy, a "fop," as we would say. He had no war record other than having been on one successful raid upon the horse herds of the Crees. Was he, as some maintained, a coward, deserving to be forced to wear a woman's gown, instead of shirt and leggings and breechcloth? [152] [577]

On a hot summer morning, soon after he arrived, word went the round of the camp that Handsome Man was going to dance. Under a shelter of poles and brush, close to their lodge, sat Talks-with-the- 595 837

28: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1967 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

cepting for the sons of the rich—and they were a decided minority—skill in hunting and warfare and courage in the face of danger were the musts for survival. In a word, self-reliance was the aim and basis of training.

And self-reliance was as necessary inside the home as outside it. Not that the Blood lacked affection for their offsprings, or a desire to support them. Many observers have commented most positively on both these traits. But the dependence on the hunt and war for food and gain, the frequent movings from place to place, made the rearing of children a difficult matter. Many stories are told of newborn infants "thrown away," left to die in the bushes, either because they could not be cared for on the march, or because raiders might hear their cries and thus be led to the camping ground, or because a mother had died in childbirth (the lot of the orphan, and even the half-orphan, was, and still is, far from enviable).

It was also considered desirable to limit the number of children. Two years was the standard interval, but the longer the time between siblings, the more parents demonstrated their love for the child previously born. Moreover, abortion carried no stigma. Magic help for this purpose could be easily secured from an authorized female practitioner, and as a special favor, a stop could be put to childbearing altogether. Revealingly, barrenness is never given as a cause for divorce in this competitive society where women are highly prized as property and sex objects, and where marriage is notoriously unstable.

The hunt and war often and for extended periods took the Blood father away from home. And these absences, however necessary, were a continual threat to a child's security. For whether justified or not, and frequently he was justified, a husband was quick to suspect that "the worst" had happened while he was gone.[21] A child often heard his mother accused of adultery, often saw her beaten, and not infrequently deserted. Whatever the ultimate solution of familial disagreement, the child invariably was the sufferer. Even if his parents remained together, he often sought refuge with a nearby relative to avoid further scenes of violence. If they separated and he went with his mother, as he usually did if he was still "young," his sense of belonging might be rudely disturbed again. For often when his mother remarried, she left him with

[21] Among the Blood jealousy was and is obsessional. Many a husband approaching his end threatened to kill his wife, for only if she accompanied him on his final journey would he be sure that he alone would possess her in the next world. The only Blood confined to an insane asylum, whose case was not complicated by physical causes, attempted to murder his wife because he believed she was having intercourse with a ghost.

Part of my afternoon was passed in just thumbing through old
122 magazines and mail-order catalogues, and although this type of
156 reading is not to be recommended as a steady diet, it certainly is revelatory of a basic difference between the personality structures of Whites and Indians. A great deal of modern advertising is obviously directed by the knowledge that the White person, whether male or female, has become so confused by the rapidly changing roles of both men and women within the framework of our society that he is no longer quite certain of his own identity and will consequently grab at almost anything that promises to reestablish him in the eyes of his peers as belonging to the proper gender. The Indian,
156 on the other hand, although he has in large measure been deprived of his cultural identity, still possesses in very strong degree that sense of sexual identity for which so many Whites are groping; such phrases as "A real MAN's smoke," and "Banking with a feminine touch," mean absolutely nothing to an Indian, and Indians in general are very poor targets for advertising of this sort.

562 Regarding Indian women (and I do my share of regarding), I believe that the Blackfoot woman of today is definitely a happier person than her White sister, and I feel sure that this same contrast existed in the old days. The Blackfoot wife was never the slave or chattel that she has been pictured as being. True, Blackfoot mar-
562 riages usually were arranged affairs, but the arrangement had the
584 same social and economic basis that most modern White marriages have, and a Blackfoot girl could refuse to accept her family's choice of husband if she wished. And a Blackfoot girl was not bought or
[583] purchased by her husband; gifts were exchanged between the suitor and the bride's family, and the more expensive the gifts the suitor could provide, the better were his chances for receiving the blessings of his future in-laws, but the final choice was up to the girl.

562 Certainly the Blackfoot woman was expected to do her share of
593 work, and the classier were her domestic attainments the more
422 desirable was she as a bride; but the teepee and its furnishings were
[581] the property of the wife, not the husband, and for good cause a Blackfoot woman could tell her husband to get out of the teepee and stay out. Even the meat that the husband provided, after the wife had turned it into dry meat or pemmican, belonged to the wife. But the Blackfoot society was structured around the family unit, and if a Blackfoot woman started to get uppity with her spouse, she darn well better have some relatives she could depend on for support.

595 White women generally shudder at the thought of polygamous
[461] marriage, but the Blackfoot ladies rather enjoyed the idea. There was considerable labor involved in tanning hides, building a new